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THE DELINQUENT.

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During 1917, Dr. Bernard Glueck, psychiatrist at Sing Sing Prison, made a study of some 600 consecutive admissions to this prison during a period of nine months, and it is interesting to note that 66 per cent had already served one or more prior terms in prisons or reformatories. This brings up the interesting question as to whether such individuals, as indicated by their recidivism, are irreformable. It is quite evident that such is not the case, but that the situation is due to the fact that in none of the State prisons are there any systematic efforts made to study the make-ups of the criminal himself, or his environments either inside or outside of institutions, and to readjust him to society.

In the study of these 600 cases it was found that 59 per cent, in addition to showing various disorders of conduct, also exhibited some form of nervous or mental abnormality, which in one way or another had conditioned their behavior. Twelve per cent of these sick people were insane; 28 per cent were intellectually defective; and 19 per cent were classified as psychopathic. Among the defectives we find recidivism in 81 per cent, the rate among the psychopaths rising to 87 per cent.

The significance of such psychological findings as are shown in these figures can not be ignored if one is to understand the social and legal problems presented by an average group of criminals. Probably in no other sphere of human endeavor is there evident to-day a more serious lack of coordination of effort than in that dealing with criminals. Enormous and increasing expenditures of public money have been poured out from year to year in the struggle against a growing volume of crime, but it is appalling to find that approximately 500,000 persons, according to the latest report of the United States Census Bureau, pass through the penal and corrective institutions of this country annually, and practically no headway is made to break through this vicious circle and lessen this increasing number of citizens who early become the wards of their respective States.

Dr. Glueck presents a number of interesting case histories which very well illustrate at what points in the career of these criminals corrective measures might have been instituted to prevent them from becoming public charges.

For example: An Italian, aged 24, was sentenced to Sing Sing for grand larceny. Investigation showed that up to the age of 5 he lived in a crowded home where there was every evidence of want. In his fifth year, following a protracted illness, his intelligence was affected, and at the age of 6 he was put to work. He was first arrested at the age of 7, for annoying neighbors, and spent some six months in an institution. For the next three years he lived in an extremely bad neighborhood and was twice arrested during his tenth year. He went to school irregularly up to the age of 13, and his record shows excessive truancy and backwardness. In his thirteenth year he was arrested for petty larceny, and then followed two years spent in a catholic protectory. On being released from this institution he worked for six months at odd jobs, and during his sixteenth year was arrested for grand larceny and sent to a house of refuge for nine months. This was followed by six months of work as a common laborer, at the end of which time he was sentenced to a reformatory for burglary. He was released at the expiration of one year and worked at odd jobs for some 12 months, when he was sentenced to a penitentiary for one year for petty larceny. Then followed a period of three years' work as a common laborer, up to the time in his twenty-fourth year when he was sentenced to Sing Sing.

Repeatedly the histories of the cases mentioned above show, in the first 12 years of life, want, neglect, bad environment, lack of recreation, and lack of schooling. Frequently the family history shows the father to be excessively alcoholic, and the mother tuberculous. Again, syphilis figures either in one parent or another.

All of these conditions are social problems which may be solved by concerted action on the part of the public, and which, if undertaken, would yield rich dividends to the average citizen, who, as a taxpayer, now foots the bills for this army of 500,000 so-called delinquents marching yearly through our penal institutions.

Once a progressive community understands that its surest protection against the spread of crime is, first, the betterment of conditions in early life, second, a proper classification of those at present in criminal institutions, and finally, an intelligent and persistent effort to readjust this class of society again into the general community, it would seem that every State would demand the development of a program among the constituted administrative agencies of the criminal law which would revolutionize the present antiquated and extremely costly methods.

The State of New York has a proposed solution of this problem, in which the different types of offenders are carefully classified as to their physical and mental conditions when the offender first leaves the general community to enter a penal institution. The offender first comes to a reception station, consisting of a medical department, a psychopathic clinic, a vocational department, an educational department, and a department where he receives ethical and religious guidance. From this reception station, after having been classified, he is sent either to an industrial prison, a farm prison, a hospital for the criminal insane, or an institution for defective delinquents. The sentence for all cases is indeterminate, and wherever conditions warrant it, parole agencies are used, where the man eventually is tried out. Here, if his conduct warrants it, his sentence ceases, and he is again returned to the general community.

In 1919, Dr. L. O. Weldon, of the United States Public Health Service, made a survey of 100 prostitutes in the city of Louisville, Ky., who were inmates of a detention home, undergoing treatment for venereal diseases, having been arrested because of antisocial behavior.¹

It was found that their ages ranged from 17 to 52 years. Seven could not read or write; 45 stated that they always disliked school; 11 reached the eighth grade, 3 went two years to high school, and 2 completed high-school courses and attended business colleges. Seventy-five had been married, one or more times, these marriages resulting in 63 children living at the time of the study, 39 dead, 43 miscarriages, and 4 stillbirths. Seventeen of the 100 women had children out of wedlock. That we may realize more fully the many grades of people affected by the abnormal behavior reactions of this group, it will be interesting to note the occupations of the husbands of the 75 women, 72 of whom were separated or divorced at the time. The occupations included laborer, farmer, mechanic, soldier, molder, teamster, chauffeur, carpenter, factory worker, coal miner, plumber, electrician, painter, box maker, tinsmith, printer, railroad foreman, railroad fireman, railroad conductor, policeman, bartender, salesman, mail carrier, football manager, restaurant keeper, real estate dealer, cook, harnessmaker, blacksmith, and enameler. The previous occupations of the women were given as factory worker, 36; seamstress, 2; milliner, 2; cash girl, 2; musician, 2; department store employee, 1; bookkeeper, 1; stenographer, 1. Eighty per cent made less than \$10 per week, 15 per cent made between \$10 and \$15 per week, and 4 per cent made between \$15 and \$25 per week. Practically all changed their work frequently, and all at intervals depended on

¹ Psychiatric Studies of Delinquents, Part II: A Study of Physical and Mental Conditions of 100 Delinquent White Women in Louisville, Ky. Public Health Reports, vol. 35, No. 22, May 28, 1920. Reprint No. 598.

prostitution for their support. One woman, 42 years of age, had been an inmate of a house of prostitution for 21 years.

As to court records, 50 per cent were recidivists, having had from 1 to 17 prior arrests.

As to physical condition, all had a venereal disease, 52 per cent showing a positive Wassermann, and 81 per cent having gonorrhea. Twenty-two were under weight, but 78 were in a fair or good state of nutrition. Five had pulmonary tuberculosis, 6 had organic heart disease, 34 were alcoholic, and 60 used alcoholics occasionally. Nine were drug addicts; 17 smoked cigarettes.

Mentally, only seven were probably normal. Thirty-eight were feeble-minded, with mental ages ranging from 7 to 9.6 years. This group included four pairs of sisters. Forty-three were constitutional psychopaths, with mental ages from 10.2 to 12. This group showed many bad social reactions, such as prostitution, alcoholism, drug addiction, thievery, forgery, neglect or desertion of children, etc. They repeatedly manifested irresponsibility, lack of judgment, and lack of foresight. One girl, 17 years old, was frankly a case of dementia præcox, and had twice been admitted to a State mental hospital, where she had a sister committed for the same disease. Three women were epileptic, with marked egoistic traits. The women classed as of normal mentality gave histories of bad early environment, two having been daughters of prostitutes, and one the daughter of an alcoholic mother. Two others came from environments of ignorance and poverty, and the father of one was an alcoholic.

Is it not plain that the problem of prostitution is something bigger than simply the treating of the 300,000 members of this national group as an entity? It is beyond doubt the duty of society to realize that these women are, for the most part, mentally sick from childhood, because of the failure of the general public to manifest sufficient interest in the social conditions of the community at large that are mainly responsible; namely, poverty, ignorance, and disease, of which the last two may be relieved by better housing, better schooling, better industrial hygiene, more community playgrounds, and more active work by churches and other societies, especially among the poor. The public would be horrified and indignant if property owners and public authorities allowed thousands of cases of smallpox to develop in the tenement districts of a city. Why? Because the smallpox might spread and endanger the health of those living in more favorable districts. Yet society complaisantly allows a pestilence far more horrible and deadly than smallpox to develop constantly in its midst, and when occasional symptoms, such as prostitution, become manifest to a degree that offends the elite, they cry out in sanctified protest against the laxity of the police in wiping out immorality. It is surely one of the most important tasks for

mental hygiene and social hygiene societies to awaken, by education, the dormant intellects of the people to a full realization of the real causes of delinquency, namely, mental and physical illness, poverty, and ignorance—all preventable conditions, which, no doubt, society will correct when once it is made to see the economic as well as the social advantage of so doing.

During 1920, a survey was made by Alice M. Hill,² for the Children's Bureau, Department of Labor, of the 206 inmates of the Kansas Industrial Farm for Women, and here again was brought out the same glaring facts that only 39 per cent were of normal mentality and that 80 per cent were the victims of poor early home environmental conditions—practically all being the end results of mental and physical sickness, ignorance, and poverty. Sixty-five per cent of these women began work before the age of 16 years—30 per cent before 14 years, and 3 per cent before 10 years—and most of them never received over \$10 per week. Forty per cent were recidivists. They had been committed for vagrancy, truancy, larceny, assault, incorrigibility, and sex offenses. One had been sexually delinquent at 6 years of age, and several had been sexually delinquent at 11, 12, and 13 years. The age at time of commitment varied from 14 to 51 years. Practically all were native Americans. Eighty per cent had left school before reaching the age of 16. Sixty-one were single, 55 married, and 52 divorced or separated from their husbands. One was married at 12 years of age, and 76 were married before reaching 17. Sixty-nine per cent were pregnant on admission. These 206 women gave histories of 40 miscarriages, 15 stillborn children, and 163 live-born children. Many of the live-born died at an early age, and very few of the surviving children were being cared for by their mothers at the time of commitment.

It can not be too forcibly stated that the delinquent woman is not immoral because of any inherent evil tendencies or because of any abnormal physical or anatomical make up, as was taught up to 25 years ago. Evil is largely the direct result of mental or physical disease, ignorance, and poverty, all of which are conditions for society to remove; and the method to be applied is similar to methods used to prevent physical sickness such as tuberculosis, malaria, smallpox, and typhoid fever. The term "hygiene" is used in teaching sanitation and correct physical living; and in every community mental hygiene should be taught and practiced as well, thus gradually eradicating mental and social diseases, which to-day cause more suffering and more expense to the public than does any plague we might name.

² Psychiatric Studies of Delinquents. Part III: Social and Environmental Factors in the Moral Delinquency of Girls Committed to the Kansas State Industrial Farm. Public Health Reports, vol. 35, No. 26, pp. 1501-1536. Reprint No. 598.

The studies mentioned show the products of delinquencies in prisons for adults. Let us study briefly the beginnings of these socially abnormal people.

Dr. Sanger Brown, second, during 1919 made a careful study of delinquencies and behavior disorders of early childhood in a probationary school in New York City. The authorities of the public-school system of New York have established separate ungraded classes, truant schools, and probationary schools, and they were interested to inquire into the question of causes and origins of school truancy and delinquency. To accomplish this work the National Committee for Mental Hygiene appointed a physician, a psychologist, and a social service worker, and their work was done among some 200 boys, all under the age of 15, who were found in one probationary school. All of these boys showed marked types of delinquencies, conduct disorders, and maladjustments. An individual study was made in each case and it was found that a considerable number of delinquencies were due to the presence of nervousness or nervous symptoms, sometimes mild and temporary, sometimes severe and of long standing. A most common symptom observed was disturbances of sleep, and it was found that children with such a symptom are quick tempered, irritable, and lacking in normal emotional control. Another frequent nervous symptom, especially in smaller boys, is over-activity. Such boys show great restlessness, are up early in the morning, and stay out very late at night. They are often thin and ill-nourished. Occasional cases were seen which are quite the reverse of this type, the boys being inactive and appearing to lack normal nervous vigor and energy. Frequently there are found boys with various physical complaints, comparable to those seen in adults, the so-called neurotic symptoms, such as stomach trouble, headaches, various pains, etc.

It was found that a very considerable number of delinquent children were mentally defective; and while it is true that mental defect is the basis of a certain amount of delinquency, by far the greater number of delinquents seem to present the problem of mental maladjustment rather than that of actual mental defect. Much evidently depends upon the early home life and neighborhood environment. In the study of these delinquent boys it was frequently evident that the parents had no appreciation whatever of the child's condition. They might either abuse him in attempts at correction or discipline, or protect him too much, thus hindering him from developing such qualities as he possesses.

The question of personality as a basis of delinquency and behavior disorders of childhood is one of great interest. In the study of these boys it was learned that certain types of conduct were evidently marked with an extreme expression of an inherent tendency which

had existed previously. Some patients who became markedly depressed and moody on some occasions were found to always have such a tendency, and would probably develop into morbidly suspicious and solitary adults, possibly to a point of becoming and remaining permanently antisocial.

In the matter of the direct effect of environment upon delinquency, a study of these boys showed many poverty-stricken homes, in which both father and mother go out to work during the day and do not return until night. During the day the children may be at school during school hours, but after school they remain on the streets until 6 o'clock, when the parents come home. The younger children are left with other families in the neighborhood, to whom a small sum is paid, and they are brought home at night to have their supper and go to bed. What is the effect of this unusual situation upon the minds of small children? Evidently it is the reverse of cases where there seems to be overcare and solicitude on the part of the parents for their children. These unfortunates grow up with no knowledge of the normal relationship existing between parent and child. They know very little of kindness or solicitude for their ordinary needs, and the question of systematic instruction or training does not enter their lives at all.

The results of such early environment are all too evident. These children naturally are put to work just as early as possible, and are supposed to look out for themselves, not only in respect to their special wishes, but also for many of their actual physical needs. Such children must by hook or crook obtain for themselves everything except, perhaps, the bare necessities of life. There is a constant sense of responsibility, and they can turn to no one for continued assistance. The child, perhaps at the age of 10, enters the field of competition to obtain his needs, and this opens up a situation which brings him into contact with minds more mature than his own. He can not naturally compete in childish ways, but he must win in any case, and so he learns little by little to deceive, to falsify emotions, to disguise his feelings; in short, he acquires all these ways of deception with which one is so familiar. Naturally, dishonest tendencies develop and the child, for reasons quite outside himself, has become antisocial.

After these boys reach the age of puberty it seems difficult to modify their attitude for a number of reasons. If such environmental conditions can be improved and proper influences can steadily be brought to bear at that time, there is every reason to believe that these boys can be reclaimed. In fact, a fair proportion of these boys found in probationary schools have been started in the right direction, and it is thought that if these efforts be continued for a period even as brief as six months, many will adhere to the proper course.

From these studies which have been made in juvenile courts, in reformatories, and in prisons, it is evident that there is a close relation between mental defect and crime. It has been conservatively estimated that from 30 to 50 per cent of the population of juvenile and adult reformatories are feeble-minded or insane; Goddard and Fernald both claim that 50 per cent is a fair average.

Crimes demanding careful planning or clever covering of tracks are too involved for most feeble-minded, but petty larceny, sexual offenses, wife and child desertion, and vagrancy seem fitting pitfalls for persons of subnormal intellect. The feeble-minded also frequently become the tool of more clever criminals and as such are often found in court. In general, they are not vicious any more than all children are vicious; their defect does not make them criminals. The fact is that, with childish minds, they are trying to cope with adult life; and when society realizes that these adult children need guidance and protection, a fruitful source of offense will be closed.

The fact must not be lost sight of that among juvenile offenders we find the usual kinds of childish crimes committed by both the normal and the feeble-minded. Incurability, truancy, and stealing are the common "crimes" of boys; and incurability and the beginning of sex offenses the common ones among the girls. Society should at this period sort out the feeble-minded and carefully correct and guide the normal juvenile offender.

But we must not think that all classes of feeble-minded are offenders. The idiot is a person with the mentality of a child of 2 years or less. He can feed himself, perhaps, but otherwise is unable to attend to his personal wants. He does not talk, has no appreciation of danger, and must be shielded like a very little child. The imbecile may attain to the mental grasp of a child from 3 to 7 years of age. He can be taught clean personal habits and simple routine tasks under constant supervision. He talks but can not learn to read more than simple words. These two classes are naturally institutional types, but are not criminals, the moron being the class which is a great menace to society. The moron mentality ranges from 8 to 12 years, the moron thus being frequently able to comprehend school work up to the fourth or fifth grade, and he may be taught to do fairly complicated tasks with only occasional supervision. However, all planning must be managed for him as he has no judgment or foresight. He frequently appears normal; and as he makes no emotional appeal, he is seldom recognized by laymen except to receive condemnation for the failures he can not prevent. Common laboring work, as a rule, falls to his lot and he does it fairly well, but his weakness is invariably brought out in his family and social reactions—his lack of self-control, the foolish ways in which his money is spent, and his childish unconcern for the future.

It is a fact that idiots and most imbeciles do not bring children into the world. This leaves the propagation of our defectives to a few imbeciles and the morons. The family of the moron is larger than the family of the normal person, and a very large per cent of feeble-mindedness is due to heredity. A burden would be lifted from society if eugenics would functionate to lower or obliterate this percentage. As it is, they are not recognized until their social, economic, and educational failures are presented to public welfare authorities.

Attention is called to one class of delinquents which gives a great deal of concern and trouble in all walks of social life. The school-teachers of the lower grades always have the "bad boy" with whom they can do nothing; and he is early classed as incorrigible, both at home and in school. The juvenile courts find him a most trying problem. Houses of correction and reformatories try in vain to correct or reform him, and perhaps pass him along to a home for feeble-minded. Here he is a most disturbing element, and persons in charge feel that he should be placed in a penal institution. Indeed, he is frequently sent there, and creates no end of trouble, the prison authorities feeling that he should be placed in a mental hospital for criminal insane. This type of individual is found in all mental hospitals, and every institution knows him from sad experience. In fact, he is found in all walks of civil life, in factories, mercantile establishments, and in the personnel of every organization.

Now, these incorrigibles, these trouble makers, are found on analysis to be made up of all levels of intelligence and ability. They are by no means all feeble-minded, but show all shades of psychopathic make-up, and represent every social level. Insubordination is their one common characteristic, and they exhibit inherent fixed characteristics, such as marked selfishness, vanity, intolerance, arrogance, and an indifference to the rights of others.

Adler explains them as having an egocentric personality, the condition, in his opinion, being the result of arrested personality development. The personality of any individual is made up of intelligence, emotions, and consciousness of self and of others, and all individuals go through the following stages of development, each stage having its own significant behavior and social relations:

- (1) The period of infancy, which ends with weaning;
- (2) Childhood, extending to puberty;
- (3) Adolescence, extending to from 18 to 30 years of age, and perhaps longer; and
- (4) Adult life.

Normal adult conduct may be said to be judged by the following standards: Ability to keep the peace, to be reliable, to observe property and personal rights of others, to fulfill obligations, to support

oneself and dependents, to manifest emotional control, and persistence of purpose and loyalty to superiors.

The incorrigible departs very markedly from these standards and never reaches the normal adult stage of development. He is out of place in any institution; and Adler suggests as a remedy that courts be empowered to legally declare such an individual a minor until he proves himself to have reached a normal adult maturity, meanwhile appointing a guardian who will, as far as possible, keep him out of institutions. This plan would at least furnish a normal mind to think for each of these delinquents, and would no doubt reduce defects, save expense to society, and prove a great relief to courts and public institutions.

An interesting survey in the public-school system of St. Louis, Mo., by J. E. Wallace Wallin in 1916-17 brought out the fact that but 20 per cent of delinquents were frankly feeble-minded, 49.7 per cent being typical backward children in school work, and 11.5 per cent being borderline or high grade morons. Wallin believes that the slow backward child is a more aggressive and intelligent trouble maker and constitutes potentially a greater criminal menace than does the frankly feeble-minded. It is evident that the backward child in school should be most carefully guided during childhood and adolescence.

Walter E. Fernald³ proposes as a remedy for the menace of the feeble-minded, that all of the feeble-minded in a State be registered by a survey such as has already been made in some States, and that authority be given to some existing body, such as a commission on mental diseases, to supervise, protect, educate, assist, and control all the feeble-minded of the State who are not properly cared for by their friends. This proposal is not so radical as it seems; for a large proportion of feeble-minded persons at some time in their lives now come under the jurisdiction of public authorities or private societies as dependents or as irresponsible lawbreakers.

The expense of this plan might seem objectionable, but it must be realized that vast sums are spent and wasted by every State annually by existing haphazard methods, as we repeatedly make these unfortunates run the gantlet of the police, the courts, the penal institutions, the almshouses, the tramp shelters, and many other agencies.

It would seem that some such plan might be of great economic value to any community and surely, from a humanitarian standpoint, would be a marked advance in our treatment of thousands of defenseless persons who go about with the mentality of children trying to compete with adult minds and naturally failing pitifully.

³ Educational Review, September, 1917.

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SOCIAL HYGIENE CONFERENCES FOR NONPROFESSIONAL WOMEN.

Social hygiene conferences for nonprofessional women were initiated during the latter part of 1921 by Dr. Rachelle S. Yarros, special consultant of the United States Public Health Service. The aim of these conferences was to educate nonprofessional women to understand more clearly the problems of social hygiene, in order that they may be better fitted to work for the improvement of social conditions incident to these problems and to train others for such work. In view of the increasing interest in this work, and the organization of new study groups throughout the country, there are presented here a model conference program and brief accounts of the meetings already held.

These conferences, at which Doctor Yarros was the leading speaker, were given under the auspices of the State boards of health and the United States Public Health Service, and were also sponsored in each case by various women's organizations. The following list shows the place, date, and attendance of each, and whether or not groups for the further study of social hygiene problems were formed as a result.

Place.	Date.	Number present.	Study group.
Washington, D. C.	Oct. 4-6, 1921.	250	Yes.
St. Louis, Mo.	Dec. 5-7, 1921.	400	Yes.
Columbia, S. C.	Jan. 10-11, 1922.	250	Yes.
Birmingham, Ala.	Jan. 16-18, 1922.	200	No.
Memphis, Tenn.	Jan. 25-27, 1922.	150	Yes.
Louisville, Ky.	Jan. 31-Feb. 3, 1922.	270	Yes.
Indianapolis, Ind.	Feb. 13-18, 1922.	275	Yes.
Pittsburgh, Pa.	Feb. 20-23, 1922.	280	Health and morals committees.
Kansas City, Kans.	Apr. 11-12, 1922.	150	Yes.
Newark, N. J.	Apr. 19-20, 1922.	500	Yes.